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made with the approval of the dead man's kin. Although by this arrangement the woman was for a while removed from her allotted place in the system, the *status quo ante* was restored with the return of the children to their pater's kinsmen.

8. Segmentation

The primary cleavage among a man's children was between the children of one band and the children of another. Within a band, the division was into separate 'houses'. Where there were children of more than one mother in the same 'house', that is where the senior wife as well as the linked wife had borne children or where there was more than one fertile linked co-wife with the same senior, the division was between the groups of full siblings. These lines of cleavage were expressed spatially by the arrangements of the huts belonging to each segment. At the top of the political hierarchy, the arrangement of the Paramount Chief's queens determined the major divisions into which the nation was split residentially, with a senior queen in charge of each major royal village, and lesser queens in charge of politically dependent royal villages. At the bottom, the man with two or three wives saw his sons group themselves round their mothers while retaining a common allegience to him.

Thus we see that in 'the time of peace' marriage was tied to a clear-cut residential system based on patrilineal descent and virilocal residence, modified by political status deriving ultimately from the Paramount Chief. The position of males in this system was determinate, although not unalterable. By the processes of marriage males were supplied with legitimate offspring. Although descent and succession were traced through males, the pattern of segmentation of this patrilineal system was determined by the organization of wives. The relative status of co-wives was perpetuated in the relationship between the segments which sprang from them.

In this system the elementary family of man, wife, and children did not emerge as an important grouping. In all serious enterprises a person derived support from his male agnates, and it was to the organized kin that the fertility of the woman was transferred by the payment of bridewealth. By the time a man had advanced in status sufficiently to be head of a division or a village, he had acquired many dependants who were not true kinsmen and his wives had been divided into bands. With the recently captured families, these considerations did not apply with quite the same force, for there were many poor men who had only one wife. These people depended on their political superior for cattle, and the women were to some extent under the control of his great wife, in so far as agricultural work and beer brewing were concerned. Even the rearing of children once they had been weaned was carried on outside the elementary family. Children were sent to their grandmother's house to be trained and indoctrinated with Ngoni values. The recent captives

[P.58]

CHAPTER IV

KINSFOLK, AFFINES AND NEIGHBOURS

1. The setting of marriage

[581 602] WHEN a man marries he acquires not only a wife but also affinal relatives. His kinsfolk become her affines and both groups of relatives become kin of the children of the marriage. Husband and wife do not exist in isolation but are the centre of a network of relationships by which one group is articulated with the other. The common interest of the two groups is in the well-being of the couple and of the family which they found. This is true of all societies but among the Ngoni the relatives of a married couple play a more important part in the marriage than they do, for example, in Western society. The importance of the kin is increased by the custom of sending children away to live with their grandparents as soon as they have been weaned, and by the fact that husband and [591] wife do not set up their residence entirely on their own but follow their relatives and live in close proximity to one or more of them. We have said that in the old days the elementary family did not emerge as an important grouping in society. This proposition is still true to-day, although our grounds for making it have shifted somewhat. In the towns the old pattern of kinship cannot operate and husband [594] and wife live their lives much more as an isolated pair, cut off from their kin and alone responsible for their children. But in villages neighbours are kinsmen and a quarrel between man and wife brings kinsfolk from all around seeking to establish the rights and wrongs of the quarrel and to effect reconciliation. Many children are not sent to live with their grandparents, but even they grow up with their [855] age-mates in the village, are fed by many different women, sleep in different huts, and visit to and fro with their relatives in other villages. The difficulties of rearing children in the towns have led to the rise of a new pattern in which children born in Southern Rhodesia are brought back hundreds of miles to the village to be cared for by rural kinsfolk. The quarrels of spouses in the towns are referred home to the village for discussion.

It is the kinsfolk of the pair who are most directly concerned with their marriage, but there are other persons and groups who are also interested. In the village the headman and his lieutenants, even if they are not close kinsmen of one of the spouses, have an interest in the good behaviour of the couple, and they too may intervene in a quarrel. They participate in the ceremonials of marriage, and may receive part of the meat and beer given by one side to the other. COO Beyond the village the Native Courts deal to a great extent with

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628 in different villages. This distinction between the two groups
602 linked by marriage is symbolised by their spatial separation, and by
581 the existence of 'the man's village' and 'the woman's village', and we have seen how in the story of Daniel and Deborah (p. 82), Daniel wanted Deborah to be warned not in his village but in her own. He wished her own kinsfolk and her own local community to express their condemnation of her conduct, and this could only be done on their own ground. Without their co-operation it would have seemed that it was merely Daniel's relatives who were accusing Deborah, and trying to make trouble for her for no good reason. With the co-operation of her relatives it was possible to pass censure on Deborah with less fear that the marriage might come to an end.

● 594 It is because the marriage relationship is one which involves other kinsfolk as well as the married couple themselves that the elementary family is not an important grouping in Ngoni society. We have seen that in the old days children left their mother's hut on weaning and went to live with their grandmother or their parents' captor's great wife. A man slept in the same hut as his wife and their unweaned child, but their waking lives were spent with other people. Nowadays the pattern is more variable. Some children stay with their parents until they are old enough to sleep in a dormitory with other children of the same sex. They are fed and clothed by their parents from infancy until they grow up. Yet most old women still gather round themselves groups of three or four grandchildren for whose food and shelter they are responsible. The provision of clothes and school fees is a more difficult thing for an old woman to manage, and for these a child usually turns to its father, if the father is living near. Even the children who live in their parent's hut, however, soon join a play group and spend much of their time away from their parents. Other boys and girls who are [603] sent home from Southern Rhodesia may have to rely entirely on their grandparents for clothes if their parents do not send money for them. A man who is richer than his neighbours, particularly [556] if his riches are in money rather than in cattle, is entreated by his relatives to buy them clothes and other necessities, and he may make himself responsible for the clothing of his siblings' children.

Financially, then, the elementary family is a more distinct grouping than in the days when the only form of wealth was cattle, controlled by the heads of segments. But even financially it is not yet a very clear cut grouping and the same is true in other fields of activity. A man and his wife work together in their garden, and they and their children live on its produce, more or less. On the other hand, at the beginning of a marriage they may be dependent on the parents of one or the other for their food and may pool their resources with them. Many meals are taken in common in the village, a group of neighbours cooking for each other in turn and feeding themselves and their children and grandchildren from the same dishes. In court, a woman looks for support to her own kinsfolk

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as well as to her husband and his kin, while a man tries to enlist the support of his own kin but not usually of his wife's kin if the dispute has nothing to do with marital affairs. At birth and death the division of labour and responsibility is mainly on sex lines. In general we may say that the elementary family does not emerge as a grouping of importance because there is no system of elementary families in which it can do so. Village is posed against village in dances, songs, the collection of tax, hunts, division of food, and so on. In other situations, one group of kinsmen act as a body in distinction to another group of kinsmen who are their affines. We have demonstrated this for the ceremonial situations of marriage and for the resolution of quarrels. In the intimacies of the hut, man and wife are in a simple and specific dyadic relationship which does not admit of substitution. To some extent, their infant, from conception to weaning, is a helpless appendage of this relationship. From weaning on, children acquire other social relationships of their own. The distinction drawn between marriage and the care of children is well illustrated by the remark made by an old widow when I asked her why she did not marry again. She replied 'I am now too old for marriage. My job is to look after children.' The missions encourage men and women to bring up and care for their own children, particularly where the children's grandparents are pagan. At the same time the importance of the economic ties that link every Ngoni household with the rest of the world is increasing and it is easier for men to find extra money when they are young and middle-aged than when they become grandparents. These two factors may lead to an increase in the importance of the elementary family, but it is also possible that the number of children sent home from Southern Rhodesia to their grandparents may grow as more women go there to join their husbands, thus increasing the responsibilities of the old towards their young grandchildren.

9. Kinship structure, marriage payments and divorce

We have seen that whereas in the old days divorce was infrequent, it is now comparatively common. We have also seen that prior to 1898 the kinship structure of the Ngoni was based on localized agnatic and quasi-agnatic lineages, for the captor-captive relationship was similar to that between father and child. These lineages are now no longer effective social groups, and individuals act and live together with cognates and affines related to them in a variety of ways. This parallel change in divorce frequency and in kinship structure provides confirmation for the hypothesis put forward by Gluckman that divorce is rare and difficult in tribes organized on a system of marked father-right, and frequent and easy to obtain in other types.[6] This hypothesis was suggested by a comparison of different tribes which Gluckman divides into two types. Among

[6] Gluckman, op. cit., p. 190.